



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 827

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07547 01 OF 02 081559Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 /026 W

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R 081314Z SEP 72
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5966
INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 7547

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SUBJECT CONVERSATION WITH PRES BHUTTO:
PART I-THE SUBCONTINENT

1. SUMMARY: BHUTTO EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT HIS INABILITY TO PROCEED WITH RECOGNITION OF BD IN AUGUST AS EARLIER PLANNED, AS RESULT MUJIB'S REFUSAL TO MEET HIM AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL OPPOSITION. HE REAFFIRMED INTENTION TO MOVE TOWARD BD RECOGNITION AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT. ALSO REAFFIRMED INTENTION TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TOWARD RAPPROCHMENT WITH INDIA PER SIMLA AGREEMENT, ALTHOUGH TIMETABLE HAS BEEN SET BACK SOMEWHAT. HE IS QUITE AWARE OF RELEVANCE OF GOP RECOGNITION OF BD TO CONTINUED PROGRESS WITH INDIA. BHUTTO INDICATED HE HAD TAKEN INITIATIVE ON CHINESE VETO OF BD APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO UN. HE DID NOT THINK POSITION WOULD BE CHANGED IN TIME TO PERMIT ADMISSION BY THIS YEAR'S UNGA. END SUMMARY

2. PRES BHUTTO INVITED ME FOR DINNER SEPT 7 AT HIS RAWALPINDI RESIDENCE. DURING A THREE-HOUR PERIOD, WITH NO OTHERS PRESENT, WE TOUCHED ON A VARIETY OF CURRENT ISSUES SPICED BY BHUTTO'S REMINISCENCES FROM HIS YEARS OF INVOLVEMENT IN PAK AFFAIRS AT HIGH LEVEL. BHUTTO SEEMED



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 07547 01 OF 02 081559Z

5. I ASKED WHETHER THE DELAY IN HIS TIMETABLE IMPLIED ANY BASIC CHANGE IN BHUTTO'S STRATEGY FOR RECOGNIZING BD, NOTING THAT THIS ISSUE WAS APPARENTLY CRUCIAL TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING SIMLA AGREEMENT WITH INDIA. BHUTTO SAID FIRMLY THAT HIS BASIC STRATEGY REMAINED SAME. HE WAS A REALIST AND PRAGMATIST, EVEN IF MUJIB WAS NOT. HE KNEW THAT GOP HAD, SOONER OR LATER, TO RECOGNIZE BD AND THAT DELAY HAD ITS COSTS ALTHOUGH HE ALSO COULD NOT AFFORD TO IGNORE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. IN OCTOBER HE PLANNED TO GO TO THE PEOPLE AND LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN TO GET BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEM THAT WOULD, IN EFFECT, PREPARE THE WAY FOR RECOGNITION OF BD. HE COULD NOT, HOWEVER, FIX A DATE WHEN HE WOULD SEE THE TIME RIPE TO PUT MATTER TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR APPROVAL. PROBLEM WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY SIMPLIFIED IF MUJIB COULD BE PERSUADED TO MODIFY HIS STAND ON MEETING BHUTTO. SOME FRIENDS (HE MENTIONED FRENCH AND INDONESIANS) HAD SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING MEETING AT WHICH GOP RECOGNITION OF BD WOULD BE ANNOUNCED WHEN THE TWO PRINCIPALS CAME TOGETHER. BHUTTO SAID HE WAS READY TO OFFER MUJIB THE PRESIDENCY OF A REUNITED PAKISTAN, IF FOR NOTHING MORE THAN TO SHOW HIS OWN GOOD FAITH (AND ALSO, IT OCCURRED TO ME, TO TRY TO ABSOLVE HIMSELF OF OPPOSITION CHARGES THAT HE HAD CONNIVED IN BREAKUP OF PAKISTAN SO THAT HE COULD BECOME PRESIDENT IN THE WEST.)

6. I ASKED TO WHAT EXTENT BHUTTO WAS LINKING, IN HIS OWN MIND, THE QUESTION OF BD RECOGNITION WITH THE RELEASE OF POWS AND THE PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIALS. BHUTTO SAID IT WOULD BE DISASTROUS TO HIM IF ALL THE POWS WERE NOT RELEASED AND IF TRIALS WERE BEGUN IN DACCA AFTER RECOGNITION OF BD. IF TRIALS WERE BEGUN IN THE INTERIM, IT WOULD BE GREAT SETBACK TO THE PROSPECTS FOR RECOGNITION. BHUTTO REITERATED HIS OWN READINESS TO PUT ON TRIAL ANY PAK PERSONNEL CHARGED WITH CRIMES IN EAST PAKISTAN IN 1971. HE SAID HE HAD NO DESIRE TO PROTECT RAPISTS OR OTHERS OF THAT ILK.
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 836

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 07547 02 OF 02 081552Z

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 7547

EXDIS

7. NOTING IT WAS MOST DESIRABLE TO FIND SOME WAY TO BREAK THE CURRENT IMPASSE BETWEEN MUJIB AND BHUTTO, I ASKED BHUTTO HOW HIS DETENTION OF THE BENGALÉES IN PAKISTAN FIGURED IN THE PICTURE. BHUTTO INTERJECTED THAT HE KNEW I HAD DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH SOME PAK OFFICIALS, INCLUDING AIR MARSHAL CHAUDHRY ONLY LAST WEEK (ISLAMABAD A-140, SEPTEMBER 1, 1972 NOTAL). (THIS WAS THE FIRST I KNEW MY INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS THIS SUBJECT, EXPRESSING DOUBTS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF NOT ALLOWING THE BENGALÉES TO DEPART, HAD COME TO BHUTTO'S ATTENTION.) BHUTTO SAID HE TOO WAS SYMPATHETIC TO HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS BEING FACED BY BENGALÉES DETAINED HERE. THEY HAD BEEN CAUGHT UP IN A COMPLEX OF TROUBLES NOT TO BHUTTO'S LIKING (I.E., AS INNOCENT VICTIMS OF THE FAILURE OF INDIA/BD TO RELEASE THE PAK POWS). HE SAID HE WAS LOOKING AT SOME POSSIBILITIES FOR ALLOWING SOME OF THE BENGALÉES TO LEAVE PAKISTAN. HE AGREED WITH MY REMARK THAT WHATEVER HE COULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO DO ALONG THAT LINE SHOULD TEND TO COUNTER THE VERY UNFAVORABLE IMAGE WHICH PAKISTAN HAD ACQUIRED IN MANY COUNTRIES DURING THE EVENTS OF 1971.

8. I ASKED IF BHUTTO COULD TELL ME HOW THE CHINESE



TELEGRAM

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VETO OF BD ADMISSION TO THE UN HAD COME ABOUT, SAYING I SURMISED THAT PEKING WOULD NOT HAVE APPLIED ITS FIRST VETO UNLESS IT WERE IN ACCORD WITH PEKING'S OWN ASSESSMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND INTERESTS. BHUTTO INDICATED THAT HE HAD HIMSELF TAKEN THE INITIATIVE ON THIS QUESTION. HE HAD SENT FONOFF SEGEN AZIZ AHMED TO PEKING IN JUNE (BEFORE SIMLA) TO TALK ABOUT CONTINGENCIES AND STRATEGY. AT THAT TIME, HE WAS STILL PLANNING ON RECOGNITION OF BD IN AUGUST. BUT HE HAD INSTRUCTED AHMED ALSO TO EXPLORE AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY IN THE EVENT BHUTTO FELT UNABLE TO PROCEED WITH RECOGNITION. IN THAT CONNECTION THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHINESE VETO IN UNSC HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. SUBSEQUENTLY, AMB SHAHI HAD BEEN CALLED BACK FOR CONSULTATIONS AND THEN RETURNED TO PEKING FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THE VETO. BHUTTO INTIMATED THAT THESE EFFORTS HAD BEEN OF IMPORTANCE AND THAT THE CHINESE VETO WAS A SIGN OF PEKING'S DESIRE TO HELP PAKISTAN AT A VERY CRITICAL TIME. IT WAS ALSO TAKEN IN RECOGNITION OF DAMAGE INCURRED BY PAKISTAN AS RESULT OF SOVIET INTRIGUES IN 1971. BHUTTO SAID HE THOUGHT PEKING WISHED TO ESTABLISH GOOD RELATIONS WITH BD BUT IT WAS WILLING TO WAIT. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, BHUTTO REAFFIRMED THAT THE APPLICATION OF THE VETO WAS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH HIS OWN CONTINUING INTENTION TO PAVE THE WAY FOR ACCEPTANCE IN PAKISTAN OF THE REALITY OF BD. HE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT PAK RECOGNITION OF BD WOULD PROBABLY NOT COME IN TIME FOR A REVERSAL OF THE CHINESE POSITION AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF BD INTO THE UN AT THIS YEAR'S SESSION OF UNGA.

9. I ASKED ABOUT RECENT VISIT HERE BY PRC VICE FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA. BHUTTO DID NOT OFFER ANY DETAILS, COMMENTING MERELY THAT CHIAO HAD COME FOR A REVIEW OF ISSUES AT FORTHCOMING UNGA. (MFA DIRGEN FOR UN AFFAIRS HAS GIVEN SIMILAR EXPLANATION FOR CHIAO'S VISIT, WHICH ATTRACTED MUCH SPECULATION HERE BECAUSE IT CAME AT VERY SHORT NOTICE AND IN WAKE OF CHINESE VETO OF BD IN UNSC.)

10. SUBJECT OF INDO-PAK RELATIONS CROPPED UP AT VARIOUS TIMES DURING ABOVE DISCUSSION. BHUTTO SAID HE WAS DETERMINED TO MOVE AHEAD ON EFFORTS AT RAPPROCHEMENT IN WAKE OF SIMLA ACCORD. HE RECALLED THAT PRIMIN GANDHI HAD TAKEN PERSONAL DECISION, IN LAST MOMENTS

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 07547 02 OF 02 081552Z

AT SIMLA, TO BREAK DEADLOCK ON A FEW POINTS AND TO SIGN THE ACCORD WITH BHUTTO. BHUTTO ADMITTED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO MRS. GANDHI OF HIS HOPES AND INTENTIONS ON RECOGNIZING BD IN AUGUST, AND THAT SHE COULD WELL HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED WHEN BHUTTO SUBSEQUENTLY FOUND HIMSELF UNABLE TO FOLLOW THROUGH. HE HAD SENT AZIZ AHMED BACK TO DELHI LAST MONTH TO EXPLAIN HOW EVENTS HAD OBLIGED BHUTTO TO SLOW DOWN ON RECOGNITION. HE THEN REITERATED HIS DEDICATION TO MOVING FROM CONFRONTATION TO A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA.

11. BHUTTO SAID HE WAS SORRY THAT THE DEADLINE SET AT SIMLA FOR THE COMPLETION OF FORCE WITHDRAWALS TO EITHER SIDE OF THE INDO-PAK BORDER HAD NOT BEEN MET. HE THOUGHT DELINEATION OF THE KASHMIR LINE OF CONTROL, WHICH THE INDIANS CONSIDERED AS PREREQUISITE TO WITHDRAWAL TO INTERNATIONAL BORDER, WOULD EVENTUALLY BE COMPLETED ALTHOUGH THE MILITARY NEGOTIATORS ON BOTH SIDES HAD TO BE GUIDED WITH A FIRM HAND. BHUTTO SAID HE WAS NOT SURE WHEN THE NEXT MEETING OF INDO-PAK OFFICIALS WOULD TAKE PLACE PURSUANT TO SIMLA ACCORD, BUT IT SURELY WOULD NOT BE BEFORE FORCE WITHDRAWALS WERE COMPLETED. PLANNING FOR THE NEXT MEETING WITH PRIMIN GANDHI WOULD THUS HAVE TO AWAIT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. BHUTTO SAID HE RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH GOI ATTACHES, IN THIS REGARD, TO QUESTION OF PAK RECOGNITION OF BD. GDS.
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